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**THE KINSHIP OF A TANOAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITY
IN TUSAYAN.***

BY J. WALTER FEWKES.

The present article has been prepared as a contribution to the knowledge of the racial affinities of the village Indians of Tusayan. In former articles in *The Anthropologist* I have claimed that the Hopi stock is composite, made up of assimilated additions from Sonoran, Tanoan, Athapascan, Shoshonean, and other tribes. I cannot, therefore, accept the generally received idea that the Hopi have a large enough proportion of pure Shoshonean blood to classify them with other tribes of the Shoshonean stock. Whatever the nearest kinship of the Hopi may originally have been, it is believed that data can be collected in the villages bearing on what it has now become. We may justly expect to find important legendary evidences to guide us in forming a judgment, and evidence of this kind has already been used in support of the theory of the composite nature of the Hopi people. Linguistic evidence, too extensive in character to discuss in this place, likewise tells in its favor; but these arguments indicating the kinship of the race in the past can be supplemented by evidence bearing on its consanguinity at the present time.

The object of this article is to show how far the process of amalgamation of the last important Tanoan addition with the Hopi has gone and how much it has been affected by its neighbors.

It is a well-known fact that Hanoki (Hano, or Tewa), one of the three villages on the East Mesa of Tusayan, is inhabited by those who speak a Tanoan dialect. The date of the arrival of their ancestors in Tusayan is approximately known to be about the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is proposed to discuss how much this stock has been changed during the two

* This article was written while the author was attached to the Hemenway Expedition.

centuries or less which have elapsed since its advent, and incidentally to touch upon the question of how much it has affected the original Hopi stock with which it has been in contact. The latter inquiry, however, is subordinated for the present to the main question, as it cannot be treated intelligently until the data regarding the clan relationships of the neighboring villages, Walpi and Sitcomovi, have been collected *in extenso*. It is plain, I think, that if we can show that a considerable intermarriage of pure Tanoan and Hopi people has occurred we have advanced a step in the direction of a true interpretation of the kinship of the dwellers on the East Mesa, to which, it may be said, *en passant*, our discussion is purposely limited in this article.

There is a historical probability that the departure of the Tanoan colonists from the Rio Grande country and their advent among the Hopi, between the years 1690 and 1710, may have been results of outbreaks against the Spaniards; but it is significant that it is almost universally said by the Hopi that the destruction of Awatobi, which occurred at the close of 1700, took place before the arrival* of the Tewans in Tusayan. As the Tanoan additions to the Hopi communities had the reputation of being "fighters," they would naturally have taken part in the massacre had they been in Tusayan at that time. It is more logical to suppose, as their legends distinctly state, that they arrived in Tusayan after the overthrow of Awatobi.

The language and traditions of the present community of Hano amply prove that the nucleus of the village was Tanoan. The reason they left their home, the route which they took, and their reception in Tusayan are recounted with many details in the stories of the present inhabitants. If any faith can be put in evidence derived from folk-lore, the fact of their origin from the Rio Grande region is well established. Their language, with slight variations, the investigation of which offers an interesting

* The Hopi say they invited the Tewans to settle among them. There is historical evidence that an "embassy" of the Hopis visited the Rio Grande region at about the time the Tewans departed. I refer to the visit of an "Oraibi chief" and twenty other delegates to Cubero in October, 1700. How long after the destruction of Awatobi the Tanoan ancestors of the Hanoans arrived at the East Mesa is not known. The fact that it occurred shortly after the presence of the "embassy" in Santa Fé is significant.

field of study, is similar to that spoken in other Tanoan communities.* There is also good evidence, from a universally repeated legend among them, that the Hopi did not speak or understand the Tanoan language when the Tewans arrived. These are accepted facts which have not been doubted by any prominent student of the Tusayan people. Our discussion, then, is to bring out evidences of the rate of assimilation of a party of Tanoan colonists with the original Hopi † during two centuries, as indicated by the blood kinship of their descendants.

It must be mentioned, however, that the problem is somewhat complicated by the fact that there is historical and legendary authority that other delegations of Tanoans besides that which we are to discuss came, either as refugees or voluntarily, among the Hopi, about the same time. The so-called Asa people are claimed by the Tewans as their kindred, and they both probably left their homes in the east simultaneously. The route which these two contingents took in their migration is said to have been different and the Asa people left some of their number at Zuñi, where their descendants still live. It is likewise said that after they had lived some time with the Hopi a number of them wandered off to the Tse-yi ‡ cañon and intermarried with Athapascan (Navajo) clans. It was thus brought about that they forgot their Tanoan language and spoke Navajo. But

* The Tusayan Tewans recognize the following pueblos as belonging to their original stock, and having their speech: San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambé and Tesuque. The idiom of Taos and Picuris is, they say, a mixture of their own with another, although they claim these two as kindred. The *Ka-wai'-ka* (Keresan) or Laguna tongue is, according to them, mixed with Tewa in Sandia and Isleta. They regard the language of Jemez as different from *Ka-wai'-ka*. Although they recognize that the idiom of Isleta differs slightly from theirs they regard it as modified Tewan. The word Tanoan, to the use of which there are objections, is applied in this article to the speech of the six Rio Grande pueblos claimed by the Tusayan Tewans as their closest linguistic kindred. The determination of whether the differences in the speech of San Juan, on the one hand, and Taos and Isleta, on the other, is great enough to divide the Tanoan family into two linguistic divisions remains a problem. The claims of the Tusayan members of the family are worth consideration.

† Our article deals with the Hopi of the East Mesa, and the deduction may or may not hold for the other Mesa villages of Tusayan.

‡ Commonly, but improperly, called "Chelly."

later they returned to Tusayan and became assimilated with the villagers then, learning Hopi as one result. It must then be borne in mind that present members of the Asa people have Tanoan, Hopi and Athapascan* blood in their veins.

We turn now to the blood kinship of the present dwellers in the village called Hano, where the Tanoan language still persists. What facts can be gathered there in regard to the results of the two centuries in which they have been associated with the Hopi?

As a contribution to an intelligent answer to this question Mr. Stephen, in his work for the Hemenway Expedition, has collected the following roster of the present inhabitants of the place, indicating their clan relationships and other significant data.

Summary of the Tusayan Tanoan Community.

	Men.	Women.
Pure Tanoan; <i>i. e.</i> , claiming Tanoan grandparents.....	27	30
Tanoan mother; Hopi father	14	7
Tanoan mother; Navajo father.....	2	5
Composite: Navajo, Asa, Tanoan or Hopi.....	3	7
Walpi, or Asa father and mother; married Tanoans....	12	
Walpi mother; Tanoan father; married Tanoans	3	
Cipaulovi (Hopi) mother and father; married Tanoans....	1	
Cũñopavi (Hopi) mother and father; married Tanoans....	1	
Navajo mother and father; married Tanoans.....	2	
Pai Ute unmarried	1	
Doubtful.....	2	
Total adults.....	68	49
Tanoans living in Walpi.....	8	
Tanoans living in Sitcomovi.....	6	
Tanoans living in Cũñopavi.....	2	
	16	
Actual population of adults in Hano.....	52	49
Actual population of children in Hano.....	32	30
Population on December 1, 1893.....	163	

* This must be borne in mind in discussing the kinship of the Hopi with the Navajo, who are members of the Athapascan stock, according to the best authorities.

Census of the Existing Tanoan Gentes.

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
1. Ke'-to-wa (Bear).....	1	4	3	2
2. Ku-lo ⁿ -to-wa (Corn).....	7	5	5	6
3. Sà (Pi-ba, tobacco).....	2	5	6	3
4. Ten-yo (Pine).....	8	10	6	5
5. O'-ku-wa (Cloud).....	15	9	4	2
6. Nañ' (Earth).....	2	4	3	3
7. Ka-tci'-na (Ka-tci'-na).....	9	12	5	9
8. Tañ' (Sun).....	1			
Husbands of Tanoan women; not belonging to Tanoan gentes.*.....	23			
Total.....	68	49	32	30
Infants.....			4	5
Children older than infants.....			28	25
Children of pure Tanoan parents.....			2	4
Children of mixed Tanoan parents.....			30	26

The Ka-pu'-lo (Crane), Pè (Timber), Ko'-pe-li (Pink conch shell), Po-hu'-lo (an herb), Ku-yan-we (Turquoise ear pendant), Ku (Stone), and Ta (Grass) gentes are said to have become extinct since the Tanoans came to Tusayan.†

The most startling fact brought out by the summary given above is that there are only *six children whose parents claim to be*

* The matriarchal system prevails among the Southwestern aborigines.

† It must be borne in mind, in a study of the above summary, that as a rule the husband on marriage goes to the wife's home to live, and that the children of the union belong to her gens. It thus results that the Tanoan women do not move from the village in which they were born, and that their children remain in the environment of a Tanoan-speaking community. In this possibly we have an explanation of the fact that whereas most of the Tanoan residents of the East Mesa can speak Hopi, few of the Hopi speak Tanoan. The small number of Tanoan men who have married Hopi women make little headway in teaching their children their language, surrounded as they are by Hopi influences. On the other hand, the larger number of Hopi men who have Tanoan wives exert more influence in spreading their language, and the much greater predominance of Hopi people is a strong influence in diffusing their linguistic forms.

pure Tanoan out of sixty-two, the complete enumeration. There are only six families in which the father and mother are both Tanoan. The mother of one family which has three of the six children is older than the child-bearing period, and by the restriction which forbids marriage within gentes the probability of pure-blooded Tanoan offspring from these children, when of age, is very much limited. It is not too much to say that in the next generation the percentage of pure Tanoan blood will be so small that we cannot regard the stock as Tanoan.

Of the adults it will be noticed that less than one-half the men and a little above this proportion of the women are Tanoan, and out of one hundred and twelve adults it will be seen that only fifty-four are pure bloods. Taken in connection with the small number of children of pure blood the modification in two generations is very significant.

The presence of twenty-three husbands of Tanoan women who do not belong to Tanoan gentes is a fact full of meaning. This condition has had a most important influence in determining the consanguinity of the stock.

The data in regard to extinct gentes simply means that the female line of these families has died out, although male descendants may still exist in Hano.

It seems legitimate to conclude from the summaries which have been given that the inhabitants of Hano are only in part Tanoan in their consanguinity, although speaking a Tanoan tongue. They seem to be more closely allied to the Hopi than to the Tanoan people of the Rio Grande, although both have differentiated from a common ancestral stock.

The persistence of the language of their forefathers, notwithstanding the changes in their blood kinship, illustrates in a striking manner a liability to error in supposing in all cases that two peoples speaking the same tongue are necessarily more closely related racially than those which are linguistically different. It is believed that in some cases, as a result of the rigid adherence to the matriarchal law, language may survive after racial kinship has changed. These possibilities are of profound importance in speculations as to the kinship of the Hopi themselves, as I shall try to show in subsequent articles.